

Message Text

PAGE 01 PARIS 17265 01 OF 02 031225Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

IO-10 SAJ-01 OPIC-03 /073 W

----- 042036

R 031210Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0930

AMEMBASSY LISBON

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 17265

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: FR, PO

SUBJECT: SOARES-CUNHAL DEBATE ON FRENCH TELEVISION

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

BEGIN SUMMARY: SPEAKING FLAWLESS FRENCH, PORTUGUESE
COMMUNIST GENERAL SECRETARY ALVARO CUNHAL AND SOCIALIST
PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY MARIO SOAREZ ENGAGED IN A LIVE
DEBATE JULY 2 IN A FRENCH TELECAST DIRECT FROM LISBON.
THE DEBATE WAS DIGNIFIED, UNEMOTIONAL, AND ALMOST
FRIENDLY. BOTH POLITICIANS PRESENTED THEIR ARGUMENTS
WITH GREAT SKILL. BOTH EXPRESSED COMMITMENT TO A
SOCIALIST SOCIETY DEFINED AS TERMINATION OF MONOPOLIES
AND CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION. BUT FUNDAMENTAL DIFFEREN-
CES EMERGED CONCERNING TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. CUNHAL
CLEARLY BELIEVES THAT WESTERN STYLE DEMOCRACY WILL
INHIBIT SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL BY GIVING
ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES OPPORTUNITY TO REGROUP. SOARES
BELIEVES SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WITHOUT WESTERN STYLE
DEMOCRACY WILL RETURN PORTUGAL TO SAME TYPE OF REPRES-

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 PARIS 17265 01 OF 02 031225Z

SIVE DICTATORSHIP FROM WHICH IT JUST EMERGED AND
PROBABLY WORSE. ALTHOUGH CUNHAL UTTERED WORDS "DEMO-
CRACY" AND "LIBERTY" ALMOST AS OFTEN AS SOARES, WE
BELIEVE FORMER CAME THROUGH TO FRENCH VIEWER AS TOTALIT-

ARIAN, AND LATTER AS DEMOCRAT. END SUMMARY

1. ELECTIONS: SOARES KEPT HAMMERING AWAY AT IMPORTANCE OF FREE ELECTIONS. HE ACCUSED COMMUNISTS OF DENIGRATING WHOLE CONCEPT OF FREE ELECTIONS BECAUSE PARTY UNABLE TO WIN MORE THAN SMALL MINORITY OF VOTE. HE SAID KEY TO TRUE SOCIALISM IS POPULAR CONSENSUS EXPRESSED THROUGH ELECTIONS. IF COMMUNISTS HAVE THEIR WAY AND ELECTIONS DOWNGRADED OR ELIMINATED, ONLY WAY TO IDENTIFY OPPONENTS OF REVOLUTION WILL BE METHOD USED BY FACIST REGIME. UNDER SALAZAR, ANYONE WHO CRITICIZED REGIME WAS AUTOMATICALLY A COMMUNIST. UNDER COMMUNIST CONCEPT, ANYONE WHO CRITICISES THE REGIME IS AUTOMATICALLY A FACIST. SOARES MADE PARTICULAR POINT OF DEMONSTRATING THAT COMMUNIST PARTY ALSO STRONGLY OPPOSED TO MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS VERY IMPORTANT TO DEMOCRACY.

2. CUNHAL RESPONDED THAT UNIQUE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL DOES NOT ALLOW FOR "BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY" OR "SOCIAL DEMOCRACY." PORTUGAL CANNOT AFFORD LUXURY OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION OF TYPE CARRIED OUT IN WESTERN EUROPE IN 19TH CENTURY. IN PORTUGAL TODAY, THIS WOULD ONLY ALLOW SPINOLA TO RETURN FROM BRAZIL WITH HIS COUNTER-REVOLUTION. WHAT IS PARAMOUNT IS DESTRUCTION OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WOULD SURELY INHIBIT THIS REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. ASKED TO COMMENT ON APRIL 27 ELECTION, CUNHAL STRESSED ITS LIMITED MANDATE BASED ON AGREEMENT BETWEEN AFM AND PARTIES. HE SAID CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WAS ELECTED TO WRITE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH IS WHAT IT SHOULD AND WILL DO. OTHERWISE, APRIL 27 ELECTION WAS ESSENTIALLY A VAGUE EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR SOCIALISM. CUNHAL ADMITTED COMMUNIST PARTY WAS FOR POSTPONMENT OF ELECTIONS BECAUSE, AS HE PUT IT, COMMUNISTS WERE NOT PERMITTED TO ORGANIZE IN MANY PARTS OF PORTUGAL.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 PARIS 17265 01 OF 02 031225Z

3. PORTUGAL AND EUROPE: SOARES KEPT QUOTING SPANISH AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY. CUNHAL REPLIED THAT PORTUGAL IS DIFFERENT AND NOT COMPARABLE TO EUROPE. SOARES SAID PORTUGAL IS PART OF EUROPE, AND MUST BE CONCERNED WITH EUROPEAN OPINION. SOARES SAID HE DOES NOT APPROVE OF THE TYPE OF SOCIALISM HE HAS SEEN IN GERMANY AS A MODEL FOR PORTUGAL, BUT HE FEELS THE SAME WAY ABOUT "EASTERN" SOCIALISM WHICH HE CONSIDERS TO BE STATE CAPITALISM OR ANOTHER FORM OF REPRESSION.

4. REPUBLICA: CUNHAL SAID THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS

NOT INVOLVED IN THE REPUBLICA AFFAIR, AND CLAIMED THAT
LEADER OF SOCIALIST GROUP IN PARLIAMENT HAD ADMITTED
THIS. HE POINTED OUT THAT PORTUGUESE WORKERS HAD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 PARIS 17265 02 OF 02 031226Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

IO-10 SAJ-01 OPIC-03 /073 W

----- 042079

R 031210Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0931

AMEMBASSY LISBON

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 17265

HISTORY OF OCCUPYING WORK PREMISES AS WAY OF FIGHTING
CAPITALIST OWNERS, SO METHOD USED IN REPUBLIC IS NOT
UNUSUAL. HE ACCUSED SOARES OF BEING UNPATRIOTIC BECAUSE
HE PUBLICIZED REPUBLICA CASE ALL OVER EUROPE. HE
SAID PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATIC FORCES SHOULD NOT WASH DIRTY
LINEN IN PUBLIC. CUNHAL DID ADMIT THAT HE FELT BADLY
ABOUT REPUBLICA BEING SILENCED, REGARDLESS OF THE
REASON. SOARES REPLIED THAT COMMUNISTS ARE STILL
SUSPECT IN SILENCING OF REPUBLICA, THAT LIBERTY OF
REPUBLICA TO PUBLISH IS FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE, AND THAT
CUNHAL DID FAR MORE DAMAGE IN HIS FALACCI INTERVIEW
THAN ANY EXTERNAL PUBLICITY ON REPUBLICA.

5. ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT: BOTH SOARES AND CUNHAL KEPT
THEMSELVES CLOSELY TIED TO THE AFM. CUNHAL STRESSED THE
AFM'S COMMITMENT TO REVOLUTION, AND SOARES STRESSED
AFM'S COMMITMENT TO PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY. CUNHAL SAID
THAT IF "DEMOCRATIC FORCES" DO NOT GET TOGETHER AND
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 PARIS 17265 02 OF 02 031226Z

STOP SQUABBLING, AFM WILL LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION

TO POLITICAL PARTIES. SOARES SAID POLITICAL PARTIES AND
FREE ELECTIONS CONSTITUTE ONLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.

END UNCLASSIFIED
BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH HE COUCHED HIS ARGUMENT IN VERY
SKILLFUL ANTI-CAPITALIST RHETORIC, CUNHAL WAS CLEARLY
SAYING THAT THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED
WITH FREEDOM OF CHOICE. SOARES SAID THAT WITHOUT FREE-
DOM OF CHOICE, REAL SOCIALISM CANNOT BE ACHIEVED. THE
DIFFERENCE WAS UNAMBIGUOUS.

7. THE SOARES-CUNHAL DEBATE MAINTAINS THE HIGH LEVEL OF
EXPOSURE THE PORTUGUESE PROBLEM IS RECEIVING HERE IN
FRANCE. IT IS FAIRLY SAFE TO SAY THAT THE AVERAGE
FRENCH TELEVISION VIEWER IS PROBABLY AWARE OF THE BASIC
ISSUE. THE IMPACT ON FRENCH POLITICS, HOWEVER, IS PROB-
LEMATICAL BECAUSE THE NEXT ELECTORAL TEST IS TWO YEARS
AWAY, AND A LOT CAN HAPPEN BETWEEN NOW AND THEN. SOARES,
HOWEVER, IS PROJECTING A STRONG IMAGE HERE AS AN UNDER-
DOG DEFENDER OF LIBERTY, AND MITTERRAND'S SOCIALISTS
WILL SURELY SEEK TO CAPITALIZE ON THIS. THE COMMUNISTS,
OF COURSE, WILL ACCUSE THE SOCIALISTS OF USING UNFAIR
TACTICS TO WIN VOTES AT COMMUNIST EXPENSE. WHILE EN-
HANCING HIS OWN IMAGE THROUGH HIS CLOSE IDENTIFICATION
WITH SOARES, MITTERRAND WILL NEVERTHELESS HAVE TO WORRY
ABOUT FURTHER EROSION OF THE UNION OF THE LEFT. MEAN-
WHILE, CHIRAC AND PONIATOWSKI WILL BE WATCHING AND
ENJOYING THE INTRACTABLE QUARREL WITHIN THE LEFT.
RUSH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

WITH SOARES, MITTERRAND WILL NEVERTHELESS HAVE TO WORRY
ABOUT FURTHER EROSION OF THE UNION OF THE LEFT. MEAN-
WHILE, CHIRAC AND PONIATOWSKI WILL BE WATCHING AND
ENJOYING THE INTRACTABLE QUARREL WITHIN THE LEFT.
RUSH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES, TELEVISION BROADCASTING, NATIONAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MorefiRH
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PARIS17265
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750230-1152
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507107/baaaatvl.tel
Line Count: 203
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <15 MAY 2003 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, FR, PO, (SOARES, MARIO), (CUNHAL, ALVARO)
To: STATE
LISBON INFO ROME
LONDON
BONN
MADRID
Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006